

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3303

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 1071

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN PFOR

SUBJECT: DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION - SOVIET CONDUCT

AND VIEWS

1. AT LUNCHEON WITH STEEL (UK) AND DELOFF KOLESNIK STATED THAT BEFORE HE LEFT MOSCOW HE HAD BEEN CALLED IN BY GROMYKO AND TOLD OF IMPORTANCE GROMYKO ATTACHED TO PRODUCING A DEFINITION. KOLESNIK STRESSED THAT IT MOST UNUSUAL BE SO SUMMONED BY FOREIGN MINISTER. KOLESNIK MADE THESE COMMENTS IN CONTEXT URGING US AND UK DELOFFS NOT RAISE UNNECESSARY PROBLEMS.

2. KOLESNIK STATED HE DID ALL HE COULD TO BE HELPFUL (A) ACTIVELY SUPPORTING RETENTION "IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE CHARTER" AND "PURPOSES" IN CONTEXT PRIORITY AND INTENT (B) GIVING ARABS AND AFRICANS VIRTUALLY NO SUPPORT IN THEIR OPPOSITION TO INDIRECT MEANS AND EVEN HELPFULLY SUGGESTING DELETION OF "INVASION OR ATTACK" IN 3(G). HE STATED THAT HE WOULD ALSO SAY NOTHING TO STIMULATE AFRICANS REGARDING SELF-DETERMINATION. HE STRESSED THAT WHILE THERE LIMITS TO WHAT HE COULD DO HE WANTED A DEFINITION.

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3. STEEL QUERIED WHETHER USSR ABSOLUTELY REQUIRED "AGGRESSION IS A CRIME FORMULATION" AND STATED THAT IF THAT WERE CASE HE STEEL SAW DIFFICULTIES. KILESNIK STATED HE HAD CABLED FOR INSTRUCTIONS PERMITTING HIM ACCEPT "WARS OF AGGRESSION" AND WAS AWAITING REPLY. DELOFF INFORMED KILESNIK OF OUR DESIRE CHANGE "SHALL... CONSTITUTE AGGRESSION" IN ART 3 TO "MAY... QUALIFY AS." KOLESNIK SAID RAISING THIS POINT WOULD CAUSE SERIOUS TROUBLE. HE SAID AFRO-ASIANS WOULD REGARD IT AS DELIBERATE TROUBLE MAKING AND HE FOR HIS PART COULD NOT ACCEPT IT. HE AGREED CONSIDER A "WOULD... QUALIFY" FORMULATION AND AGREED STATE PUBLICLY IN ORDER TO DAMPEN THE NEGATIVE REACTION THAT HE REGARDED CHANGE AS LARGELY DRAFTING IN NATURE. HE AGAIN EXPRESSED HOPE WE WOULD NOT BE UNREASONABLE IN INSISTENCE ON A LIST OF SMALL CHANGES WHICH AMOUNTED TO SLIGHT IMPROVEMENTS FOR US BUT TOTALITY OF WHICH WOULD AMOUNT TO PREVENTING AGREEMENT ON A DEFINITION.

4. DELOFF AND STEEL BOTH SUGGESTED TO KOLESNIK THAT WHILE HIS FAILURE ACTIVELY STIR UP TROUBLE ON SENSITIVE ISSUES WAS POSITIVE STEP TOWARD AGREED DEFINITION HE WOULD ALSO NEED PRIVATELY PRESS AFRICANS AND ARABS NOT SEEK TOO MUCH. KOLESNIK ACKNOWLEDGED THIS BUT SAID HE HAD TO BE CAREFUL SINCE STARCEVIC (YUGO) AND OTHERS SPREADING RUMOR US AND USSR HAD AGREED ON TEXT AND WERE NOW SLOWLY JAMMING IT DOWN THROATS. COMMENT: WE HAVE HEARD SAME RUMORS AND STARCEVIC, TEYMOUR (EGYPT), CEAUSCU (ROMANIA) MAIN INSTIGATORS.

5. IT CLEAR THAT KOLESNIK CAME TO DO A DEAL AND HE IS MAKING GOOD FAITH EFFORTS TO MEET OUR RESASONABLE NEEDS. END COMMENT.

6. SUBSEQUENTLY CHAIRMAN (BROMS-FINLAND) CONVENED INFORMALLY MEETING OF PERMANENT MEMBERS. FRANCH DID NOT ATTEND PLEADING OTHER BUSINESS. KOLESNIK REPEATED IN MORE GENERAL TERMS SAME LINE WITH BROMS. BROMS ACCURATELY SUMMED UP THE MEETING BY SAYING IT CLEAR CONFIDENTIAL

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US, UK, USSR AND OTHER EUROPEAN STATES HAD SUBSTANTIALLY REACHED AGREEMENT AND IT NOW ONLY A QUESTION OF WHETHER MODERATE AFRO ASIANS WOULD HAVE THE STRENGTH TO RESIST RADICAL PRESSURES. IN THIS CONTEXT BROMS URGED SOME CONCESSIONS WOULD STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE MODERATES. DELOFF TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE POINT FOR BENEFIT OF BROMS (WHO TENDS TAKE PROFESSORIAL VIEW OF NUANCED ISSUES AS OF LITTLE SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FULLNESS OF

TIME) THAT WHILE WE DIDN'T OPPOSE A DEFINITION WE HAD
LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR ONE AND WERE NOT PEPAED MAKE
WHAT WE REGARDED AS BASIC CONCESSIONS.
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